

PEACE NEWS

No. 401 February 18, 1944 2d.

"End This Agony!" HUMANITY'S CRY

Lin Yutang, the writer and philosopher who has been called "China's Bernard Shaw," has been re-visiting his native land. We publish below his views on the prospects for world-peace and the contribution China could make to it, as they appeared in the report of an interview with Stuart Gelder, a News Chronicle Special Correspondent, published on Feb. 2.

★
In spite of talk and promises, conference ideals and paper plans, is there any real evidence that the game of power politics is over? Personally I haven't seen it.
Are we sure that the world organization we hear about won't be just a shop front, while the actual controlling influences on world events will be still the politics of power? Will familiar figures still be playing that old game while we are looking at the display in the window?
I think those forces are still very real and powerful, and that unless they are eliminated another war is certain to follow this.
What can we give one another, then?

★
I think everywhere in the world there is a cry—a demand from the soul of man—that this shall be the last war. The Chinese peasant in Szechwan and the Bond Street shopwalker are asking, "How can we prevent this dreadful thing happening again?"

But this cry is scattered among hundreds of millions. It has not yet become a directed crusade. There lies the tragedy of humanity—that we don't want to destroy one another, that desperately we cry for such agony to end, yet the means have not been discovered.

Personally, I think the true answer may be in the greater democratic control of foreign policies. In the last war President Wilson said secret diplomacy must go. Well, well, it has been going—on and on ever since. The desire of the common peoples of all countries for peace must be canalized and directed.

★
I believe China has a splendid opportunity of contributing to the welfare of the world. When you look at this country you will see many disappointing things, but I think when the West talks of culture it often means civilization.

Bath-tubs, wireless, telephones are civilization. Culture is another thing. It lies, for instance, in the manners, the attitude to life of the Chinese peasant—kindness and tolerance and the ability to live side by side. That has been China's strength—I think her salvation in this war.

REAL RECONSTRUCTION

A GROUP of Christian pacifists have sent £5 to the Peace News fund in pursuance of their effort "to liberate money for constructive purposes by voluntary limitation of their standard of living." That welcome intimation came to me at the moment that I had read "Observer's" paragraph in this issue on the deliberate destruction by our bombardment of the Benedictine Monastery of Monte Cassino which he justly calls the cradle of Christian civilization in Europe.

GERMANY'S PLACE IN A NEW EUROPE

by JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

DOROTHY Thompson, the famous American journalist, cannot be suspected of Nazi sympathies. She crusaded against the Nazi régime, which expelled her from Germany in 1934, for some years before the war. She has now written in *Life*—one of the most famous and popular American magazines—an article called "Germany—The Enigma of the Peace," which is a precious contribution towards peace.

The true cause of Nazism, she makes plain, is not any peculiar viciousness in the Germans as a race, but the appalling and continuous insecurity which they experienced from the end of the last war. She gives a vivid account of the German experiences up to the collapse of the Nazi dream in the Russian campaign and the air-war.

It may be said that all this could not have happened in any other country. It is her opinion that it could happen to any people if the continuity of all their traditions were so drastically broken. But the question is not pertinent. It did happen. The Germans are a people to whom all this has happened.

Monarchy was a fraud. Democracy was a fraud. Money was a fraud. National Socialism was a fraud. War was a fraud. No generation has ever tried as many things and been disillusioned in all of them as have the Germans.

CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

If there has been no stable authority in the lifetime of the living German, on what basis can authority be established? That is the crux of the German problem.

No real and permanent authority can be established by armies of occupation and foreign civil administration, however benevolent and intelligent. Victory of one nation over another does not establish the legitimate authority of the victorious over the defeated. It never has in human history, except where the defeated have been taken into the organized society of the victors as equals.

When revolutionary developments break the traditional authority, it would appear that new authority is established only by the creation of new popular cohesion around a new common purpose. The impossibility of finding a social purpose on which general popular agreement could be centred led Hitler to drag the nation into a war of revenge. Had he been successful he might have established a new Nazi authority. But his purpose and programme will have led to such unmitigated disaster that it is quite impossible to believe that it can be revived again as a rallying point for authority.

COUNSELS OF DESPAIR

The realization of some of these facts has led to despair about the future of Germany. The complete expression of this despair is the desire to eradicate the German cancer once and for all. These are counsels of despair because they do not make any political sense.

A Germany that has already gone through the experience of the last 30 years, if confronted by such a Carthaginian fate, would have an out-and-out nervous breakdown of the most formidable and dangerous proportions. The country would have to be held and governed indefinitely by outside Powers. But these outside Powers would also be unable to govern, for in order to govern one

must be able to secure some sort of present and future to be governed. One cannot govern in a condition of permanent collapse. Germany would become a world of rival gangs, looting, pillaging, knifing, raping, hiding, living dangerously and recklessly as the history of their own times has already taught Germans to live dangerously and recklessly.

No matter what we do, no matter how wise our politics, no new heaven and earth is going to rise from the dragons' teeth that have been sown. All Europe has been rocked to its foundations, and in effect, all Europe will have been defeated—one part of it by the Axis and the other part by the Allies.

When the Moscow Agreement was signed, Europe, for the first time in the history of Western civilization, was excluded from councils regarding her fate. Not a single nation of continental Europe participated.

The collapse of all old authorities has probably gone much further in Europe than we realize. The German experience has been repeated elsewhere. The resistance in allied countries has been carried on by revolutionary underground movements and through new and unknown personalities. The programmes which they have been evolving will probably differ greatly from those of their governments abroad who have lived through Europe's purgatory in London or Washington.

We must imagine that through Europe's trials, there has been a great deal of soul-searching. Sooner or later the nations of Europe must ask themselves decisive questions. We

may expect that what will emerge in post-war anti-fascist Europe as the idea with the greatest authority will be the concept of European unity—with equality for all, great and small, with complete cultural freedom, with political sovereignty in all matters strictly internal, but with a common foreign policy and defence system, and an integrated economic order.

If this idea emerges it will attract to itself as an idea of dynamic authority all those Germans who are prepared to be good Europeans instead of chauvinistic master-racers. How many of them there are no-one knows. But they exist; they always have existed through the entire history of Germany.

GERMANY'S PLACE

Either a new Germany will be integrated into a new Europe, or a new Germany will, eventually, be integrated into the Soviet Union. There is no such thing as a permanent no-man's-land of 60 million people. A constructive solution of the European question can bring with it a constructive solution of the German question. It can also usher in an era of world-peace. But without an all-European solution the German question is insoluble except by another war to determine into what sphere of influence Germany will eventually go.

So far not a word has been uttered by the leaders of the Anglo-American Powers to indicate the slightest awareness that there is a European problem. When USA entered the war, millions of Europeans waited for a great constructive word. The word has never come.

In the end Europe, which is the centre of the world's civilization, will find a way out for herself. The result may leave a disgruntled Britain and America gaping in chagrin.

It need not be so, but if it is not to be, we must discern the signs of the times and ally ourselves with the forces of history instead of waiting vacuously for something to turn up and indulging our spleen in pictures of eternal punishment, just because we can imagine nothing better.

Why Neutrals Hesitate

WHATEVER the final outcome, the precarious situation in which the Anzio bridgehead has been placed must have a serious political consequence: it will weaken European confidence in Anglo-American military effectiveness. That is already evident in Turkey's refusal to enter the war. Further, it gives an anxious neutral, like Spain, warrant for feeling dubious about the success of the Second Front. Thirdly, it diminishes Anglo-American political influence as compared with Russia's.

The skill and tenacity of the German army are being amply demonstrated. And it has become much less apparent to Europe than it is to ourselves that Germany must lose. We may be right: and European hesitations may prove to be mistaken. But the fact is that outside these islands and USA no one, and within them a decreasing number, is at all certain that the Anglo-Americans will have won the European war by the end of this year. But—

"If 1944 does not see the end of the struggle it will be almost too late to save Europe from disintegration" (News Chronicle, Feb. 14).

Bombs and Morale

HOW little the block-busting of Germany has weakened German morale appears from the comment of a writer who experienced the heavy raids on Hamburg and Berlin in October last.

"Again and again I observe with surprise and admiration how the people are determined not to give way under the horrors of such a bombardment. No sooner is it over than everyone starts afresh or tries to help, and life goes on, as far as possible, as if nothing had happened. The people have astonishing resilience, courage and fortitude. I do not believe that one can in this way conquer a people who are fully aware of the seriousness of the situation." (Friend, Feb. 11.)

From that it appears plain enough that Germany will be beaten only by forthright military victory. And, as

aforsaid, the chance of that by the end of this year seems at present remote. It follows that the disintegration of Europe will probably outpace victory over Germany.

Russia Helps Herself

THAT is, however sinister in itself, the background against which one gets the most hopeful view of the evident determination of Russia to incorporate into itself the small Baltic States and a substantial portion of pre-1939 Poland. That is better than chaos. And that is about the best that can be said.

On the ground that they once formed part of the Tsarist Empire, or that they are necessary for a strong strategic frontier, Soviet Russia is proposing to incorporate into itself the peasant republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The Left press takes it for granted; it does not lift an eyebrow. What Russia says, goes. Of course, there is very little Britain or America can do about it. But the British Government has, through Mr. Eden, announced that it does not recognize territorial changes that are unilaterally made.

Instead of lending power to the Government's elbow, the Left press—including organs of Liberalism like the News Chronicle—condones the action of Soviet Russia. Whereas the Manchester Guardian never fails to publish the protests of the representatives of the small Baltic States, from the News Chronicle one would never gather that they had a moral leg to stand on.

Lost Identity

PACIFISTS at least should clear their minds of the superstition that Soviet Russia can do no wrong. The three little Baltic States before (CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Observer's Commentary

Contributions since Feb. 11: £17 0s. 7d.
Total to date: £5,182 7s. 0d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

Bombing Policy

IN offering our perhaps embarrassing congratulations to the Bishop of Chichester on his protest against area-bombing in the House of Lords on Feb. 9, we are constrained to offer also some reflections.

We believe that he is right in questioning the idea that bombing avowedly aimed at obliterating the whole of a great city will in fact shorten the war. As far as the effect on enemy morale is concerned, the evidence is pretty conclusive that it strengthens the enemy will to resist. But the official line taken by the Government is that no direct effect on morale is intended. The sole aim is to injure the German war-machine, by diminishing its productive capacity and by paralyzing its administrative centres. Here there is no conclusive evidence. But we must admit that it is possible that the efficiency of the German machine has been considerably reduced. A reduction of 20 per cent. is a serious matter. It may have made all the difference between our own war-production being left undisturbed, and its being hampered as (we will assume) the German war-machine has been.

To such a defence of our bombing-policy, the Bishop of Chichester has only one cogent reply. It is that area-bombing is unlawful no matter what military advantages it may give. Rather than transgress the moral law, we must accept the possibility of military defeat, or at least of failing to achieve military victory. There is a point at which to save our own souls we as a nation must be prepared to lose the world.

Unfortunately, since the Bishop of Chichester did not say this, we must doubt whether he really believes it. We do not criticize him for that. But we must make it clear that, if the critics of British bombing-policy are not prepared to take this ground, the ground they do take will crumble under their feet. In other words, the moral choice is this: either you must say: "There is a limit to the permissible barbarity of war. We must refuse to pass that limit, whatever happens." Or you must say: "Military victory is the one thing needful. If our opponents wage war without limits, so must we." Between those two positions there is no solid ground at all for the Christian or the humanist. If, for any reason, you shrink from taking the position that there is a limit which must not be passed, you will inevitably be beaten back to the position that, in pursuit of the supreme good, which is military victory, all things are lawful. You have willed the end, you have therefore willed the means.

This and no other has been the moral issue in this war from the beginning. Many of us became pacifists simply because we saw that there could be no limit or restriction in modern warfare. Rather than oppose total war by total war, we said, it were better that this nation should admit defeat: better for itself, better for the world. The point had been reached in human history when war had become "bloody murder." Unless men and nations were prepared to renounce it, they must incur the terrible consequences: namely, that by using the means of total war they would engender such a mass of evil as would wholly outweigh and entirely corrupt the good they would defend by it.

That moral and intuitive judgment has been ratified by events. But unless you are prepared to maintain that defeat is better than victory achieved by "all-in" war, your protests against the bestiality of "all-in" war are vain.

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Postal subscription rates: Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

Displayed advertisements: Maximum size, 3 column-inches. Copy by first post Friday.

HITLER GETS IT

THE other day, after one of the Berlin raids, a man in a bus turned to me with a smile and said, "Hitler got it all right last night!"

"Got what?" I asked.
"Bombs, me boy," he replied.
"Really?" I said. "Was he killed or only wounded? I didn't even know he was in Berlin."

He said he didn't suppose Hitler was in Berlin. Indeed, he was confident that Hitler wasn't within 100 miles of Berlin, for Hitler, he said, knew better than to be there. And he assessed the value of his confidence at a quid.

"NOW look here," I said, "let's get this clear. First you tell me that Hitler got it. Then you proceed to bet me a quid that Hitler missed it. Yet, from your obvious satisfaction with the first, and your quidworthy confidence in the second, I perceive that two statements which to me appear contradictory are to you alternative versions of the same fact. Can you explain their connection?"

He then said he didn't mean that Hitler personally had been damaged, but that a record number of other Germans had.

"I understand, then," I said, "that when you say Hitler got it, you really mean that crowds of other Germans, including probably several who disliked Hitler, and others too young to know who Hitler is, have been killed, crippled, demented, or otherwise impaired. Why, then, do you speak as if these things had happened to Hitler, the one man, in your opinion, most likely to remain immune?"

He appeared to require notice of that question, but I gathered, roughly,

that he thought the news of the raid would upset Hitler's peace of mind, and that this was all to the good.

I MENTION this incident because it affords characteristic evidence of a very widespread habit of thought which invites speculation.

Observe that this man's first reaction to the news of the dismemberment of large numbers of unknown people was to imagine its effect, not upon the people themselves, but upon somebody else a long way away.

One must admit a certain envy. One of the drawbacks of modern

by OWLGLASS

crusades is that they involved the indiscriminate mangling of innumerable innocent persons, which not only mars one's appreciation of a blow struck for Justice, but also spoils one's breakfast.

But this man sees no such fly in the world-healing ointment. He has no such disturbing visions of human shambles. His imagination can bypass the whole distressing scene and fly straight to Hitler, thus enabling him to contemplate the end without any discomforting reminders of the means.

THERE is, however, a more significant aspect of this faculty. It is clear that this man is able to regard the whole German nation as an indivisible whole, personified in Hitler. As soon as his vision crosses the Rhine, he becomes himself a Totalitarian.

It may be suggested that he is only

taking the Germans at their own valuation. "Since Nazi doctrine denies individuality to Germans," he might argue, "how can I consider individual German vicissitudes?"

But he does not argue thus. He does not argue at all. His totalitarian assessment of Germany is instinctive and spontaneous.

And the vital question is: If he continues to regard another nation in this way, might he not, in time, develop the habit of taking a similar Broad View of his own nation?

FROM the standpoint of his own rulers it would be very convenient if he could.

If he could be persuaded to regard the distribution of consumable goods over Britain in the same way as he regards the distribution of bombs over Germany, those post-war economic problems which are giving our statesmen such anticipatory headaches would be solved.

For we have seen that to him, and to millions like him, a bomb on Berlin is estimated only by its effect on a place 100 miles away.

How convenient it would be, then, if by a similar effort of the imagination, an increase of salary in Kensington could be welcomed as a wage-increase in Birmingham or Bootle, and ill-fed families in the Rhondda could experience repletion by reports of the distension of a stomach in Piccadilly.

And if only Englishmen could identify themselves en masse with some representative national figure, empty-pocketed wage-earners, waiting for pay-day, might compensate for their fag-less condition by the hourly enjoyment of Mr. Churchill's cigar.

It remains to be seen whether our united war effort has resulted in the creation of a truly national spirit.

Mr. Bedoyere Replies

IT is extremely pleasant to run into so lively a set of people as readers of Peace News. Elsewhere I have written what seems to me far more provocative stuff and met with no reaction at all; but my mild little article in your paper has brought me far more letters than I can answer, and it now leads to the printing of my name at the top of one of your pages in the largest type which has ever been conceded to me! And all I was trying to say was that all men who are agreed that there mustn't be another war should get together now before the end of this war and before peace negotiations—in other words, before it is too late. Pacifists and non-pacifists may sincerely differ about the proper attitude to take up towards this war (including the advisability of negotiating with Hitler), but, instead of thousands, you could get millions to stand for a Christian and intelligent peace programme which, with God's help, could prevent the painful application in the future to concrete events of theoretical pacifism or theoretical non-pacifism.

At the moment it seems to me that the one figure in the world with a sufficient moral authority and influence to lead such a programme is the Pope. Why my own co-religionists don't do much about it, I can't think. I am wondering whether you can—whether you can formulate a reasonable and practicable charter of peace in harmony with the Papal lead which could be internationally and nationally distributed. Then there would exist a Peace Pledge for the times which could be signed and worked for from now onwards. Of course the realization of such a programme in the face of present political forces would be a tremendous and perhaps a seemingly hopeless task. But surely it offers more promise than any alternative. That is all I was trying to say.

MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE

Common Wealth

I am at a loss to understand the pacifist "Observer's" tenderness towards Common Wealth. When he writes of a recreated socialist movement "based, even more solidly than Common Wealth, on ethical principles," as he does in his Commentary of Jan. 21, I am inclined to fear that a continuous perusal of the news in our national wood pulp has caused him to develop an astigmatism shortsightedness when he views the Common Wealth banner.

Common Wealth combines a support for the present war with a left wing policy at home—morality at home and amorality abroad; taking, I presume, in its ethical stride such solidly based re-creativity as all-in bombing and similar war-winning devices.

The selection of parliamentary candidates

In view of the many claims on our very limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters under 250 words.

LETTERS

with high-marked war records (so many notches on the gun, so to speak) is a clear indication of Common Wealth's attitude to the war, besides being good shooting on the electioneering side, and I cannot see how pacifists can lend shoulder weight to the speeding of Common Wealth's sweet chariot-cum-tumbrel, which contains, without doubt, some of the most ethically minded men who ever slit a throat or bombed a bairn—by proxy.

LEONARD DUTHIE
23 Morningside Av., Aberdeen.

Women and War

It caused me some surprise recently when "Observer," referring to ruthlessness in women, appeared to accept the views of a selection of Daily Mail correspondents as though they were statistics, and now it seems we are to take seriously the sweeping generalization of Tom Wildman that women as a sex are more bloodthirsty than men.

If Mr. Wildman had said "fair haired men over six feet are more tolerant than other men" Peace News would hardly have published such ridiculous nonsense, though I have no doubt that the Daily Mail would be very willing to put the question to their readers and publish the result of replies received.

Most reasonable people know that it is a fallacy to suppose that there is a line drawn on one side of which is to be found Man (complete with all masculine attributes) and on the other side Woman (complete with all female attributes). No doubt statistics—real statistics—would show that there are some women more bloodthirsty than some men, and some men more gentle than some women. It might also show that there are some women more intelligent than some men. And a good thing too!

SYBIL MORRISON
Redcap, Greenstreet Green,
Farnborough, Kent.

Concerning the article "Women and War" and the letter "Bloodthirsty Sex," I should like to submit that the charge is erroneous; not bloodthirstiness, but sheer lack of imagination, due, perhaps, to the narrower sphere of action and thought in which women have moved so long.

Put a bludgeon in such a woman's hand and tell her to go through a school exterminating the inmates; give her a blow-lamp and tell her to fire the locked building, and she would shudder at the thought. Faced with actuality, the truth would be as clear as the sun in the heavens—this thing, in any circumstances, for any cause, is wrong.

RAYMOND POLLARD
94 Queen's Rd., Richmond, Surrey.

Nothing to Choose?

In your issue of Feb. 4, you state "The plain fact is that for the peoples immediately involved, Finns, Poles, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, there is nothing to choose between Germany and Russia." I wonder if this is true, quoting one instance I know of.

When the Russians had Latvia before, all if not most of the intellectuals, including some people I knew of through their sister in London, were turned out of their jobs, and what little help she could give them she sent to them. One brother was a professor and very brilliant, but he was destitute; another sister was also a teacher. I cannot help wondering if this is not the general rule in Russia, and if you are right in your assertion.

J. HALLIDAY
36 Emlyn Rd., London, W.12.

W.E.A. Classes

The vast problems of post-war reconstruction urgently require an informed public to face intelligently the complexities of international co-operation and the likelihood of an unexpected General Election. An expansion of the work of the WEA would be of great value in this connection. I have found discussion with non-pacifists on these problems an essential need, and I would especially ask COs on the land to start classes in villages and small towns. If I can help readers in this matter, I shall be pleased to do so.

T. H. ILLINGWORTH
Oaklea, Great North Road,
Welwyn, Herts.

War Aims

It is certain that the great majority of the British people, including members of the forces, have given their whole-hearted support to this war in approval of the aims expressed in the Atlantic Charter, i.e., freedom for all from aggression and dictatorship. Recent events however, are openly acknowledged by politicians (notably Field-Marshal Smuts), press, and radio, to have now rendered these aims unattainable and even undesirable; but we have been given no others. In these circumstances it is only reasonable to require from the Government a clear and unequivocal statement of our present war-aims to justify any further continuance of the war. Pacifists could act in full force in this connexion.

LENA ROBERTS
9 Mount Beacon, Bath.

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Too Strong for the Radio Times



THE half of this caricature on the right of the thin line appeared in the Radio Times on Nov. 19 last, with this caption: *Napoleon carving the "plumb-pudding" of the world, from a cartoon by Gillray.* Research has since disclosed that the complete drawing was meant to tell a different story. It appears in David Low's book "British Cartoonists, Caricaturists, and Comic Artists" with the following description: "The plumb-pudding in danger; or, State epicures taking Un Petit Souper." *Caricature of Pitt and Napoleon carving up the globe. Engraving by James Gillray, 1805.*

In an "imaginary interview" between Low and Gillray broadcast on Nov. 22, Gillray was made to say: "I dipped my etching point in acid. You and your friends seem to me to dip your pens in nothing stronger than lemonade. Shame on you!" The full strength of the acid still seems too much for the Radio Times 138 years later . . .

ARMISTICE CALL TO LONDON CO-OP

"Communists Benefited"

THE Co-operative War Resisters' Association, which was responsible for "Armistice" resolutions put before London Co-operative Society members' meetings in April and September last year, is unable officially to support a similar resolution which (as reported in PN, Jan. 28) Will Coppin intends to place on the agenda for the meetings in April this year.

In a statement to Peace News explaining this decision on behalf of the executive committee of the CWRA, A. E. Moir, the secretary, writes:

"We have not relinquished our campaign, but we are unable officially to support Will Coppin at the April meetings as a matter of policy arising from our sense of responsibility, as a Co-operative organization, to the Co-operative movement. This decision results from our experience at last April's meetings when statutory Committee Elections took place. Although we were satisfied that good work was done, there was one serious consequence which had not been foreseen.

COMMUNISTS' MOVE

"The Communist Party, now bitterly opposed to COs and to peace propaganda, found in our resolution a heaven-sent opportunity to rally hundreds of reckless people to the meetings (most of whom are not normally interested) on a printed plea for opposition to the people who wanted 'to shake hands with Hitler'. Their leaflets were typical of the Party and would not perturb us unduly, but the abnormal crowd of new voters was only too easily persuaded to vote for the people who were named as in opposition, and consequently Communist nominees (whose chances in a normal election would be slight) were elected to the LCS Board.

"Elections will again take place this April and we feel that a similar resolution will once more be used by the Communists, and may well result in a Communist majority upon the LCS Management Committee. The Communist successes last April have, in our opinion, already had serious reactions for COs and pacifists generally, and upon the Society's trading operations. We cannot approve Will Coppin's action in going forward in April as we know that any propaganda value will be far outweighed by the harm done to our LCS.

"We shall be glad in accordance with our policy, to resume our peace efforts in September when no elections will take place."

"New Order" in U.S.A.

"As an organized effort to register Methodist opinion on American participation in international co-operation to establish world law and order," a "New World Order Crusade" was launched in USA, Jan. 6, according to the News Chronicle.

The crusade was planned by the Council of Methodist Bishops "after a week's consultation in Washington last year with President Roosevelt and members of his Cabinet, President Quezon of the Philippines, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, and others. The British Methodist Conference has sent a cable expressing the hope that churches on both sides of the Atlantic will co-operate to promote action to end war."

The Cry of Europe's Hungry Children

AMERICA'S ANSWER HANGS IN THE BALANCE

"I SHALL never forget," said a refugee recently arrived in Cairo from Athens, "hearing children crying outside my window, 'pinao, pinao' (I'm hungry, I'm hungry)." (Manchester Guardian, Jan. 15.) "An average adult," declared the Times in a remarkable leader on Feb. 10, "requires between 2,000 and 3,000 calories a day, depending to some extent upon the amount of physical work performed. A recent estimate of the average intake on the Continent was put at 1,400 calories daily. In some areas the deficiency must be greater. That is to say, the first requirement of relief work will be the equivalent of 600 or more calories a day for adults. In terms of food this means, say, just over half a pound of bread, or 2½ oz. of butter. Experts are agreed that priority must be given to the supply of calories in cereals and fats."

It now seems inevitable that most of these adults must wait upon the fortunes of a Second Front for such relief. But the growing children desperately need it immediately. Their only hope lies in the Kershner Plan and the expected action by the United States Senate.

PRESSING FOR ACTION

The New York World-Telegram on Jan. 29 spoke of "overmuch delay" and pleaded that "the Gillette-Taft Bill unanimously approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee should be passed promptly." We understand it is Howard Kershner's opinion that the Committee would not have passed this decision without the approval of the Administration, and the success or failure of the Senate move may well depend on the extent of the support in the State Department at Washington.

Kershner is doing everything within his power. On Dec. 27 a full page of the New York Times was taken up by an advertisement inserted by the Temporary Council on Food for Europe's Children of which Kershner is chairman.

"Only neutral ships not available for the war effort would be used," it declares. "No food needed for ourselves or our Allies would be used. A little grain from here, meats and fats from South America and Africa. 51,000 tons a month would save 10,000,000 children, nursing and expectant mothers."

FAVOURABLE POLL

A Gallup Poll reported in the News Chronicle on Saturday showed 65 per cent. of the American people in favour of the proposal to send food in neutral ships to the children of France, Belgium, Holland and other occupied countries. A poll taken in 1940 showed a substantial majority as opposed to sending aid to any occupied country.

In this critical situation it is a tragedy that the Famine Relief Committee here proposes for the present to adhere to the "minimum scheme" and to defer any pronouncement on the Kershner Plan. A great majority of the mixed Committees have declared for the Kershner Scheme and on them rests the whole burden of arousing public support in Britain.

NEUTRALS THANKED

On Feb. 6 Mr. Dingle Foot, giving figures of the food sent to Greece paid a long overdue tribute to "the indispensable services of the Swedish Government and the Swedish Red Cross as also of the International Red Cross and Swiss Red Crosses in the work of organization and the provision of staff." It is not only in Greece that Switzerland and Sweden have given aid to the hungry. Sir Norman Birkett recently told a London audience (Times, Jan. 11) that the Swedish people had brought "25,000 Finnish children" to their homes in Sweden, and "40,000 in Finland itself were cared for purely by Swedish organization." "10,000 Norwegian children were receiving one meal a day provided solely by Swedish people." "In many other countries, including Belgium, France and Holland, the same healing, remedial, beneficent service was rendered."

ENEMIES WERE FRIENDS

ALTHOUGH, 143 years ago, Napoleon occupied the kind of position in many people's minds that Hitler does today, and although France and Britain were at war, the learned societies of the two countries kept up very friendly relations. A copy of the London Chronicle, dated "From Saturday, January 24, to Tuesday, January 27, 1801," reported: "A very curious and interesting scene passed on Thursday last at a sitting of the Royal Society: some valuable books, magnificently bound, were presented to the Society from the National Institute of France. A letter of compliment accompanied this present, signed Bonaparte, President of the National Institute and First Consul of France: and on the letter

was a finely executed vignette, representing Liberty sailing on the open ocean in a scollop-shell, with the following motto: *Liberte de Mer*. Sir Joseph Banks read the letter and put the question, that a letter of thanks be returned to Bonaparte, which was unanimously carried."

Another paragraph in the same issue of the London Chronicle shows that the contact between the two Societies had its severely practical aspect: it referred to a letter from the Royal Society to the French National Institute, "communicating, as an important discovery, a sovereign remedy for the gout in the head or stomach."

(The quotations were given in an article in the Evening Standard, Feb. 4.)

Plea to Premier Over Call-Up of Indians

THIRTY people well-known in politics and literature have written to the Prime Minister about the case of Mr. Suresh Vaidya, an Indian citizen resident in Britain, who has been arrested and taken under escort into the Army because he declined to answer his call-up notice.

They explain that "Mr. Vaidya's action is due not to pacifism, and certainly not to any sympathy with Nazism, but to his conviction that as a national of India he should not be conscripted in the Forces of Britain," and urge "that the opportunity should be taken of proving Britain's sincerity in acclaiming the cause of liberty by accepting the principle that no Indian should be compulsorily forced into the British Forces."

Signatories to the letter include: Vera Brittain, Fenner Brockway, Walter Greenwood, Lancelot Hogben, J. F. Horrabin, George Padmore, Prof. C. E. Raven, Sir Hugh Robertson, Lady Wedgwood, and eight ILP and Labour MPs.

DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED

The text of the letter, together with all the documents connected with the case, are contained in a 2d. pamphlet published this week by the Indian Freedom Campaign under the title "Indians in Britain—Should They Be Compelled to Fight?" with a short introduction by Fenner Brockway. Copies can be obtained from the IFC (8 Endsleigh Gardens, London, W.C.1) at 3d. post free.

A public meeting on the subject held in London on Sunday by the Federation of Indian Associations in Great Britain was addressed by Ethel Mannin, Fenner Brockway, James Maxton, MP, and Indian speakers.

"How to Save the Starving Children of Europe without aiding the Enemy," a reprint of a broadcast by Dr. Kershner, with details of the Kershner Plan, is now available at the PPU Bookshop. The price is 3s. per 100, but in order to encourage the widest possible distribution, quantities of 1,000 and more will be supplied at £1 per 1,000. Food Relief economy labels, bearing two-colour miniature reproductions of four of the "What They Say" posters, may be obtained from the PPU Bookshop at 1s. 9d. per 100.

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KRISHNAMURTI

"You want to know how and why we are in this chaos and confusion, why evils, war, miserable conditions, exploitations exist in the world. We have created them. Each individual through his own intense desire to be secure, to be safe, to be certain, has created a society, an authority, a religion, a nationalism, in whose shelter he hides and takes comfort. I am not giving a new system or a new set of beliefs, but I say: Look to the cause that has created this division of man against man."

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The Right Order

THE ancient people who desired to have a clear moral harmony in the world would first order their national life; those who desired to order their national life would first regulate their home life; those who desired to regulate their home life would first cultivate their personal lives; those who desired to cultivate their personal lives would first set their hearts right; those who desired to set their hearts right, would first make their wills sincere; those who desired to make their wills sincere would first arrive at understanding; understanding comes from the exploration of knowledge of things. When the knowledge of things is gained, then understanding is reached; when understanding is reached, then the will is sincere; when the will is sincere, then the heart is set right; when the heart is set right, then the personal life is cultivated; when the personal life is cultivated, then the home life is regulated; when the home life is regulated, then the national life is orderly; and when the national life is orderly, then the world is at peace.

From the Emperor down to the common man the cultivation of the personal life is the foundation for all. It is impossible that when the foundation is disorderly, the superstructure can be orderly. There has never been a tree whose trunk is slender and whose top branches are heavy and strong. There is a cause and a sequence in things, and a beginning and end in human affairs. To know the order of precedence is to have the beginning of wisdom.

—Confucius

(Part of the first lesson to be learned in Chinese schools since the Sung Dynasty. Quoted by Lin Yutang in "The Importance of Living.")

A FLANK ATTACK ON SOVEREIGNTY

It is widely taken for granted that the future peace of the world will depend on what is vaguely called "international co-operation". It is less frequently realized how much will depend upon the precise form which that co-operation will take. In "A Working Peace System" (published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs at 1s. 6d.) Professor David Mitrany of Princeton University puts the case for "The Functional Development of International Organization". He also examines other proposals for international co-operation, based on other principles; his views on these and his own suggestions are here discussed by

Robert S. W. Pollard

PROFESSOR Mitrany makes an effective criticism of schemes for political union either on a regional or a continental basis or for a world State. He suggests that regional unions would lead to their being sharply divided from the remainder of the world and shows how even the limited British Empire Ottawa Agreement in 1932 had such an effect.

The result of regional unions would be, he suggests, that group patriotism would evolve, but in a more menacing form, since the groups on which it would be based would be much stronger than existing national States. There is no reason to suppose that they would lead to world peace. He criticizes the League of Nations for giving too much consideration to 19th century ideas of rights; it ignored, he says, the trend of this century, which is away from individual rights towards positive common activities and action.

PROBLEMS OF SOVEREIGNTY

In many ways this book is complementary to Professor E. H. Carr's "Conditions of Peace" (Macmillan, 1942). It is a commonplace to say that State sovereignty and nationalism are out of date and must be diminished. It is not, however, so easy to effect the curbing of State power. The League of Nations signally failed to do this by direct political action, and there is no reason to suppose that a direct attack on State sovereignty will

be any more successful after this war than it was in 1919. Indeed, it looks as if resurgent nationalism will appear in an even more exaggerated form.

Therefore, says Mitrany, try an indirect attack by concentrating on functional organization. Instead of manufacturing federal constitutions or League covenants in the accepted political manner, let us, he suggests, extend the international bodies which cut across State sovereignty.

Leonard Woolf, in a striking study, published in the last war, showed that even before 1914, there were many bodies such as the Postal Union which even went on functioning during that war. The real successes of the League of Nations were in this functional field. The Report of the League for 1941-2 (2s. 4d. post free from Allen and Unwin, 40 Museum St., W.C.1) provides most encouraging evidence that the work of the League in this field continues vigorously. Apart from the International Labour Office, the League is doing work on post-war problems, post-war economy, health, nutrition and other problems; the Opium Board is still functioning; the international standardisation of sera has not been effectively interrupted; the Child Welfare Information Centre continues; the assistance to the settlement of the Syrians of Iraq was completed in January, 1942; the registration of Treaties with the League con-

tinued; Mandatory Powers made their reports as usual; and the Library is always expanding. It is particularly interesting to note that seventeen countries during the years 1941-2 asked the League's Health Section for information. "The requests came from French West Africa, United States of America, Australia, United Kingdom, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, France, Germany, British India, Iran, Italy, Mexico, New Zealand, Poland and Switzerland." (My italics.)

ALLIES' EXAMPLES

Mitrany shows how, during this war, inter-allied action in the international fields has expanded. There is the Anglo-American Raw Materials Board; there is an American-Canadian Committee dealing with post-war collaboration in the region tapped by the new Alaska highway which is being built as a joint enterprise. There is the Middle East Supply Centre about which he says:

"Set up at first to deal with war supplies, the Centre was led gradually to include civilian supplies in its operations. It was first charged with dealing with agriculture and transport, but it later added industrial development within its scope; its jurisdiction covered at first the countries round the Eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea, but later it was extended to include Iraq and Persia; and while at first it was organized as a British agency, it became a joint British-American agency after the arrival of American forces. It has only advisory authority in relation to the independent States of the region, but its control of all shipping provided a strong lever for its policy. One might add that the Centre has concerned itself with study and planning as well as with many-sided immediate actions. These repeated adaptations would have been difficult if the Centre had been set up on some formal constitutional basis, on the strength of a treaty or pact."

There are the more recent proposals to set up functional bodies to deal with food (Hot Springs Conference) and relief in Europe (UNRRA). In other fields too, interests cut across international boundaries. Trades union organizations, professional organizations, societies of scientists, all have their international bodies which, if strengthened, would help to divide the individual from loyalty to his State. The Tennessee Valley Authority in the USA cuts across State boundaries for electricity supply and general economic development of the area. A similar Danube authority (proposed by Vice-President Wallace) might do much for peace in the Balkans.

CASES FOR ACTION

Functional development is particularly urgent for aviation and shipping after the war. After the last war the functional bodies then existing were dissolved and the world went back into the chaos and greed caused by private capitalism and competition. Is the same to happen after this war?

The nationalist forces in America are gathering strength, and shipping companies and other bodies in this country prepare to do the same. Yet for the sake of efficiency as well as for peace, the case for international control and ownership of civil aviation and shipping is overwhelming.

An interesting suggestion made by David Mitrany, which I should like to see developed in some detail, is that functional development in India might help to bring Hindu and Moslem together whereas there seems to be little hope of agreement on political and religious issues.

The establishment of international functional bodies does not arouse nearly so much opposition as proposals for political union, although some opposition from ultra-nationalists may occur, as can be seen from recent discussions in the American Senate. The problem of peace is so important that it would be unwise to concentrate too much on obtaining a perfect democratic organization for each functional body. The essential thing is to get the international bodies with executive or advisory powers and experiment with them to see what is the most desirable form. There will probably be different patterns for different purposes, as in this country there are varieties of public organization ranging from the London Transport Board and the Post Office to the Co-operative Societies.

There is still time to prevent the victory of the vested interests and to stop them from breaking down the international functional bodies which the war has created. This pamphlet is one of the most important studies made since the war began, on the international problem, and if it has a wide circulation it should help to create a public demand for the retention and development of these bodies. During this war less attention seems to have been given to the problems of international society than was the case in the last war, and there is a tendency to justify this by saying that the League of Nations failed. This generalization is loose and inaccurate and there is an urgent need for more thought, leading to action, on what steps should be taken to secure and maintain peace. David Mitrany's pamphlet contains many ideas which are so important that it should be read and considered by all individual pacifists and thoroughly discussed by every pacifist group.

Teaching Youth to Think and Act

MANY people are despondent about the future when they consider the effects of war propaganda on young minds. I wish to show what some of the enlightened secondary schools are doing to counteract the evil results of the increasing callousness of press and radio and films.

Pacifism is not taught as such in any such schools as I have in mind; nor, I think, is it desirable that it should be. For education is the very reverse of dogmatism, just as pacifism is, or should be, the very reverse of intolerance. It is bad psychology and bad education to teach only one side of a question.

So pacifists who are also teachers will not dogmatize about pacifism: their influence will be by example as much as by precept, and they will try to show in their lives that they have what Cromwell called "the root of the matter" in them.

Pacifism cannot be treated of in isolation: the faith of a pacifist must be part of a larger ethical attitude to the problem of life. Max Plowman said: "Pacifism is a faith based on the reality of the unity of human society and the understanding that we are all integral members of it."

If a school is a world in little, we must see to it that its members are conscious of the unity of its community, and of their responsibility towards it. In what way, then, can these things be fostered in a school?

THE INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHTS

First of all by respecting the rights of the individuals who make the school. To mention just two of these rights; and first, the right to work.

Contrary to popular belief most boys want to get on with their work. They resent intensely an absence of discipline, and are annoyed when a boy is allowed to disturb them. Realizing this, most potential nuisances check themselves without the need for authority to throw threats or punishments about. Discipline, in fact, is easy in a community where popular opinion believes in the right of the individual to get on with his work undisturbed.

by a Schoolmaster

Together with the right to work goes respect for other people's opinions. You must have complete tolerance. Boys who know that their masters hold widely different opinions and yet respect one another will rapidly learn a similar tolerance. If you take the trouble to form an opinion and hold that opinion with conviction, you must admit the right of others to hold different opinions with equal conviction.

RESPECT FOR TRUTH

Out of this tolerance will grow a respect for Truth. Here the relations between masters and boys and the integrity of teaching are vitally important. Masters who pretend to be better or wiser than they really are will soon lose a boy's respect; for boys loathe humbug and hypocrisy.

This principle must, of course, apply equally in academic and in moral education. Where the Truth is not known, this must always be admitted. Particularly in the teaching of history, where the truth is often impossible to discover.

I don't think it matters that many school text-books have a nationalist bias; provided that the master explains the bias and shows the other side of the picture. Indeed, it is often an advantage to use a prejudiced book, because it enables a teacher not only to make jokes at its expense, but to demonstrate the nature of propaganda.

In a quite different way schools can help to develop the principles upon which pacifism is built. By acting plays, producing concerts, and playing games many valuable lessons in co-operation are learnt, particularly where these things are organized by boys themselves.

If they choose their own leaders, the leaders will learn, also, that they have a greater responsibility for the success of the enterprise than the rest, and that leadership of any kind carries with it duties that are often onerous.

Of great importance, too, in the

life of a school community is the provision of opportunities for creative, preferably manual, work. We must have boys working in wood and pottery, and iron; designing posters and advertisements, and planning the new London or the new school they would like to build.

This, not only because the world will need people who can look after themselves; or even because skill and patience are worth having, but much more because by learning the difficulties of such creative work we appreciate the value of the creations of others, and so, to the extent to which we dislike seeing our own efforts spoiled we learn to respect other people's.

WHERE PACIFISM CAN GROW

Now, in any school where these four things exist: the right of the individual to work without disturbance; the love of Truth; co-operative activities; and opportunities for creative work; I believe that, though pacifism is not being taught, at least there is an atmosphere conducive to its growth.

To what extent these things already exist in schools I do not know; but there is some evidence that they do exist, here and there, and are producing results. There is a spirit of free inquiry abroad and a healthy scepticism about the honesty and veracity of the utterances of some public men. Young men of 18 have searched their hearts before allowing themselves to be called up. There is a growing recognition that peace, if it is to be peace, will demand sacrifices as great, in many ways, as those of war. These are good signs.

Here and there, of course, there are young men who feel

The time is out of joint! O cursed spite

That ever I was born to put it right.

But education has not failed entirely if it has produced even a few who believe, to quote Siegfried Sassoon, that "by thinking independently and acting fearlessly on your moral convictions you serve the world better than by marching with the unthinking majority."

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THE FUTURE FOR YOUTH

SINCE the last "House Column" on the subject of Youth, Peace News correspondence has suggested that some pacifists think we should leave children and young people to form their own judgment, without any adult interference, as to whether or not it is right to take part in war; while others think that we should endeavour to influence their thinking and try to make them pacifists.

The PPU Youth Committee takes a "middle line," endeavouring (1) to get our point of view across to the younger generation, but (2) above all to help them to see both sides to the question and so arrive at a better informed decision. We also are concerned (3) to watch the interests of young people where their conscience is concerned; and (4) to stimulate general thought on the subject among both pacifists and non-pacifists.

To this end, we shall be glad to receive orders for "Education for Peace" by Marie Butts (4d.), "Regimentation of Youth" (3d.) and "War Propaganda in Schools" (10s. per 1,000) by Sydney Conbeer, and "Young Children in War-time" by Anna Freud and others (1s. 6d.). We shall also be glad to suggest suitable books for presents, prizes, etc.

* * *

Young people will like to know that Edmund Marwick, 5 Northfield Crescent, Edinburgh 8, is Editor of Youth; he will be glad to receive their contributions for publication as well as requests for copies of the magazine. We hope, too, in London during the Easter holidays to hold a meeting at which the young people themselves will do the speaking. Will all boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 18 who are interested in attending such a meeting write to me about it?

* * *

It may help later if the many pacifists engaged in teaching, club leadership, Scouting, and Sunday School work will send their names and addresses to their regional or Area secretaries, or to me; a clearer picture of our influence and possibilities in these different fields should result. We are glad, too, to know that FoR now have a Youth Committee; we are working in co-operation with them.

* * *

Gwen Catchpool, speaking at a recent parents' conference, said she believed that the reason why her children were pacifists was that they had lived for some years in Berlin, and that she believed that one of the dangers today was that English people still "look down" on "foreigners." I suggest, therefore, that at present with so many people here from other countries we have a golden opportunity of arranging for such visitors to speak at youth discussion groups, Sunday Schools, etc., and so do something to break down this "foreigner" complex. We shall also be glad to suggest speakers and suitable literature for other parents' conferences if you will let me know. I also hope to hear from parents in London and the Home Counties, who would like to attend another parents' conference in London if arranged during the summer.

PATRICK FIGGIS

Pioneers of Peace *

by ROY WALKER

THOREAU was of Emerson's opinion that with the appearance of the wise man the State should expire. The State, however, remained satanically alive, and instead of following Emerson's advice to make its main business the education of the wise man, it sought to make men less wise, less just, and less manly by inculcating conformity to Law as the *sine qua non* of good citizenship.

Thoreau recognized that "the only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right." For him disobedience to State law might not infrequently be a duty.

Duty was duty even if one were in a minority. Thoreau saw that there were thousands of Americans in his day who opposed slavery and the war and who yet in effect did nothing to put an end to them. For voting alone could not be counted as doing.

It was not necessarily a man's duty to devote himself to the eradication of any particular wrong, but at least it was his duty not to share in it. If the consequences of refusal to share in wrong-doing were imprisonment or expropriation, a man must put up with them—or submit to being less than a man.

PRICE OF MANHOOD

Thoreau was no narrow individualist. He understood the social significance of conscientious action.

"If one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name—if ten honest men only—say if one HONEST man . . . were actually to withdraw from this co-partnership, and be locked up in the county jail therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America."

Thoreau thought that a cheap price to pay, if need be, for manhood. William James reminds us that the soldier adopts a similar attitude towards the ordeals of war. He prefers such horrors to "a sheep's paradise." And surely all healthy-minded people were agreed on the essence of that conception?

As a defence of slaughter it became a monstrous antidote to the fear "that the transition to a 'pleasure-economy' may be fatal to a being wielding no powers of defence against its disintegrative influences."

*Thoreau: "Civil Disobedience."
James: "The Moral Equivalent to War."
Tolstoy: "Letter to a Hindu."
Gandhi: "The Law of Suffering," etc.
(Peace Pledge Union, 6d. each.)

So long as pacifists had no alternative, no moral equivalent to war, so long would they fail to destroy war.

William James could "devoutly believe in the reign of peace and in the gradual advent of some sort of a socialistic equilibrium," but in that more or less socialistic future there must be new energies and new hardships to employ the manliness now exploited by militarism. His own essay towards a moral equivalent was perhaps too equivalent to seem moral to the English pacifist of today, involving as it did the conscription of youth.

Youth must go not to the battlefield but "to coal and iron mines, to freight trains, fishing fleets in December . . . to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stoke-holes, and to the frames of skyscrapers." Occupations, these, to send back gilded youths with the childishness knocked out of them, with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas.

NEW OUTLETS FOR MANHOOD

Tolstoy looked not to the future but to the present, to the reality of oppression and the means for its defeat. Like Thoreau, he looked for sanction to individual conscience and would not permit Law, Scripture, or Authority to gainsay it. He saw that the condition of the moral equivalent to war was not conscription but love; "human life should be guided by the spiritual source which forms the foundations of human life and manifests itself in love."

There had been violent revolutions, there had been the attempt to reform society by constitutionalism. Both means "actually tend to strengthen the power and irresponsibility of the Government." Non-co-operation, with good will as its dynamic, was the only way of advance to a truly human society.

"What does it mean," Tolstoy asked an Indian friend, "that 30 thousand people, not athletes, but rather weak and ill-looking, have enslaved 200 millions of vigorous, clever, strong, freedom-loving people? Do not the figures alone make it clear that not the English but the Hindus themselves are the cause of their slavery?"

Tolstoy was, on the whole, a sound Christian, and yet it was left for

Gandhi to see more plainly than the Russian that the law of love is also the law of suffering. Here, and not only in the coal-mines, was the moral equivalent for which William James had sought. Here was action to test the manhood and courage of a nation, action built on virtue and thus necessarily triumphant.

Delay in bringing the triumph to birth was the measure only of the shortcomings of those who sought to practise the way of non-violence. The non-violent struggle would instil self-rule, and thus bring forth true self-government. Long before, the ideal goal was reached control of the State would fall like a ripe fruit.

Individual integrity and refusal to participate in wrong-doing had been Thoreau's vision. The search for moral forms of corporate action, not shirking hardship and suffering, was William James's quest. Recognition of good will as the only adequate dynamic for such individual and corporate action was Tolstoy's enduring contribution, derived from the teaching of Jesus.

In Gandhi these currents coalesce. He has begun to build the bridge between conciliation and justice, he is both revolutionary and peace-maker. It is essential for the Western pacifist movement, in this time of partial failure, to understand the synthesis which Gandhi is striving to realize. Deeper than all differences of circumstance lies the truth that it is our battle which he is fighting today. We fail to understand him at our peril.

THE WRONG WAY TO PEACE

"If there is one thing absolutely sure, it is that a combination of the policy of obliteration with a policy of complete negation as to the future of a Germany which has got free from Hitler is bound to prolong the war and make the period after the war more miserable."

—The Bishop of Chichester in the House of Lords, Feb. 9.

PRISON REFORM DEMANDED

A resolution recording its belief that the present system of imprisonment tended to destroy the personality both of the prisoner and of those who controlled him, and calling for immediate reform and the ultimate abolition of the system, was passed at a conference held by the Prison Medical Reform Council in Friends House, London, on Saturday, attended by about 200 people.

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FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Marke Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 6 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

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OUR 1944 Seed Catalogue now ready. Write for your copy. Rule. Seedsman, Newman St., Shirley, Southampton.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

ACTIVE REVOLUTIONARY required to participate in income-pooling community. Apply: Elm Cottage, Clifton Vale, Bristol 8.

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LITERATURE, etc.

ARE YOU interested in international war resistance? Groups are invited to write to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex, for specimen literature describing the International's activities. The W.R.I. can also supply speakers to address P.P.U. and other pacifist groups on its work.

CHRIST IS COMING. Interesting new Booklet on what must come to pass first, 6d. post free from Secretary, Prophetic League, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

GIFT FOR C.C.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write, Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc.; without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

HENRY MILLER, by Nicholas Moore. 40-page study of famous American writer. 1s. 1d. post free from Opus Press, Wood House, Wigginton, Tring, Herts.

PACIFISTS desiring economic justice should read "Land and Liberty," 2d. monthly or 3s. p.a. post free from 4 Gt. Smith St., S.W.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, etc.

ARMISTICE MOTION at L.C.S. half-yearly meetings: meeting to discuss this will be held at N.P.C. offices, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1. 10 a.m. Feb. 20. Will Coppin invites supporters.

DEVON AND CORNWALL Area A.G.M. will be held in George's Chapel, South St., Exeter, at 3 p.m. on Sat., Feb. 26. Patrick Figgis will be present and will address a public meeting on "Youth and the War" at 6.30 p.m. in the same hall. All members are urged to attend.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, West Midlands Area, annual general meeting in Birmingham: Sat., Feb. 26, 5-8 p.m., and Sun., Feb. 27, 11 a.m.-1 p.m., Cobden Hotel (entrance Cherry St.). Sun., 3 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Bull St., Laurence Houseman: "Dick Sheppard—the man I knew."

PROF. JOHN MACMURRAY on "The Religious Issue in Reconstruction." Kingsway Hall, W.C.2, Friday, Feb. 25, at 1.10 p.m. Admission free. National Peace Council.

PUBLIC MEETING. The Streatham Group invites you to "Face the Peace." Speakers: Dr. A. D. Belden, Bill Grindlay; Chairman: Harry Street. Friends' Meeting House, 195 Brixton Hill, S.W.9 (opposite New Park Rd.). Fri., Feb. 25, 7.30 p.m.

QUAKERS AND CREEDS. Public lunch hour Address, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1, by Carl Heath, Feb. 22, at 1.20 p.m.

PERSONAL

ACTORS, producers, playwrights, wanted for company performing various places London. Rehearsals evenings Hanwell. Expenses met. Box 315.

BUILDING REPAIRS and Decorations carried out conscientiously by K. Spencer, 2 Aldine St., Shepherds Bush, Green, and Tunbridge Wells. C.O. employed.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., P. 19 Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

MEDICAL experiments. London volunteers wanted to take part in malaria experiment while carrying on normal work. Particulars from Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

SITUATIONS VACANT

ACTIVE WOMAN (40-60 preferred) with social service experience and knowledge of poor people wanted to help in social service centre. Honorary and meals. 10-5.30 daily, Sats. till 2 p.m. Must live near Central London. Apply by letter only to Warden, 254 Harrow Rd., W.2.

C.P.F.L.U. have need of male C.P. land workers to complete Units in 3 hostels. One not under E.W.O. Groups of 4 or 5 friends could apply. Write Sec., Room 16, Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

COMPETENT GARDENER required for 2½ acres kitchen garden country hostel near Gloucester for refugee children. Apply: International Commission, 67 Brook Street, W.1.

ELDERLY COUPLE require sympathetic help in return small salary; light duties. 22 Wansunt Rd., Bexley.

EXPERIENCED machine minder and layer on required by progressive printers. 5-day week, good wages. Box 304.

HELP WANTED by Printer in C.D. Quick worker for platen. 2-3 days (alternate) a week. C. F. Ducret, Cargreen Road, Norwood Junction, S.E.25.

HOUSEKEEPER wanted for small market gardening community. Gloucester Land Scheme, Hempstead, Gloucester.

MEDICAL Assistant required with view to partnership. Apply Dr. Harold Thomas, St. Clare, Merthyr Tydfil.

MEDICAL HOUSEHOLD, South Coast seaside town, needs refined woman to live as family and help with reception, surgery attendance and occasional general duties. Nursing experience an advantage. Age immaterial if active, cheerful and willing. No children or dogs. Box 316.

WANTED, Companion Help to semi-invalid. Good home, wages 56 Carless Av., Harborne, Birmingham.

YOUNG HANDYMAN with carpentering ability required for child refugee hostel. Apply either to Warden, Murrells Road, near Hartpury, Glos. (Phone Hartpury 239), or International Commission, 67 Brook St., London, W.1.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

WANTED immediately, a junior mistress for small school. Apply Ocklye, Crowborough, Sussex.

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST, 4 years' farming experience, desires position with Christian farmer. Experienced machine and hand milking. Opportunity learn tractor work preferred. Able take charge dairying if necessary. Good house essential. Box 317.

C.O., single, 4 years' farm experience, inc. pair horse work, ploughing, milking, etc., seeks tractor driving and machinery exp. Good refs. Surrey preferred. Box 318.

INTELLECTUAL (23) exempt N.S. requires healthy outdoor work; any kind, anywhere; inexperienced but mobile and adaptable. Box 319.

SECRETARY-ACCOUNTANT, wartime charity, C.O. exempt social relief, desires similar position with organization doing really useful work. Box 320.

WORK ON small market garden or other land work with scope for initiative sought by C.O., 38. Over a year's experience with large-scale growers. Box 321.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

PACIFIST HEALTH CENTRE. Natural treatment of disease and eyes; manipulative massage; water and dietetic treatment, etc. Principal: Reg. J. Bailey, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath (ex-Maidstone C.O.), 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Palmers Green 7868, by appointment.

END ILLUSIONS ABOUT RUSSIA

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

the war were genuine peasant republics. As the Economist says (Feb. 12), "the Baltic land reforms of 1919-1922, which were the result of a happy combination of social demands with national aspirations, eradicated landlordism both peacefully and effectively."

That was possible because the great landowners were aliens: in the Baltic States, the German Baltic barons; in Lithuania, Poles. They could therefore be expropriated without causing a national cleavage; moreover, what was valuable in the German culture (at the university of Dorpat for example) was respected and retained. Under the land reforms the maximum size of a holding was about 250 acres.

Russia therefore had nothing to offer the Baltic States except the expropriation of the peasants and small farmers themselves. This would have been so unpopular that collectivization was not attempted between 1939 and 1941. Land was taken from the richer peasants, and 70 acres made the maximum holding. One may grant that this was a beneficial reform. But who can believe that, when the Baltic States are incorporated, Russia intends to leave it at that? The mass-deportations of the intellectual classes to the remote Russian hinterland prior to taking the notorious plebiscite have had the intended consequence of paralysing the independent political life of these small States.

Struggle for Power

WHY pretend that such behaviour is in any way ethically superior to that of the Nazis? Neither is the autonomy imposed by the new Russian constitution likely to be more serious than the autonomy of say Norway under Major Quisling. If Russia intends to do these things, we cannot prevent her.

But if the so-called "progressive" elements in this country are going to approve them, then all the ethical arguments which they have so plentifully deployed for continuing the fight against Nazism are humbug. The struggle becomes nothing but a struggle for power—two different struggles for power: one between the Anglo-Americans and Germany, the other between Germany and Russia. And it stands to reason that the defeat of Germany will be only the prelude to another struggle for power between Anglo-America and Russia.

A Step Backward

THE path to this attitude of moral equivocation is easy. There is much to be said for the idea that independent small nations are an anachronism in Europe. But they are an anachronism only in relation to a new form of federation in which the fundamentals of liberalism are retained. This valuation of the small States must not be used to justify their forcible submersion in Russia.

To pretend that the independence of the small Baltic States—including Finland—made impossible the peace of Europe is nonsense. They threatened nothing and nobody. Their behaviour was as exemplary as that of the Scandinavian States. It is not

they who upset the peace of Europe but the great Powers which refused to let them be independent. If the small European nations are no longer capable of independent existence, that is not to be reckoned as a political advance, but a political retrogression. The eclipse of the small nation by the violence of great Powers is the counterpart of the eclipse of the individual by the totalitarian State. As pacifists reject the one, they should reject the other.

Monte Cassino

IT is symbolic that the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, hitherto spared through the special prayer of the Pope, should now be the object of Anglo-American bombardment. For Monte Cassino is, I think, the most famous monastery of the Western world. There is a quite marvellous description of it, saturated in a sense of its historical and spiritual significance, in D. H. Lawrence's introduction to Maurice Magre's *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion*. (Incidentally, Lawrence said it was the best piece of writing he had ever done.)

At any rate, its effect upon me was that I have felt ever since that I knew Monte Cassino and all it stood for even better than my own parish church. It was the place where St. Benedict established the great monastic "rule" which was the most powerful single influence in civilizing Europe in the Dark Ages. Monte Cassino is (more than Rome itself) the cradle of Christian civilization. It is being deliberately destroyed.

Without Comment

THE following appeared in Don Iddon's message from New York in the Daily Mail (Feb. 9).

"The inside story on the atrocity revelations is that they had been gathering dust for months in the files of the British Foreign Office and the American State Department. Despite the urgings of both the British and American Information services, the Joint Chiefs of Staff ruled against their publication. 'It was not until after the Gripsholm returned with a new batch of diplomats that the Allied policy changed.'

"Churchill and Roosevelt made the final decision to release the horror stories after being convinced that they would stiffen Home Front morale, inflame fighting spirit, and boost War Bond sales."

GERMAN PASTOR ACCEPTED

Despite the resignation of some officials and members of Torquay Presbyterian church (reported in PN, Jan. 28), Dr. Wilhelm Karle, a German anti-Nazi pastor, duly became minister of the church last week. At the induction ceremony the Rev. A. E. Howard invited any objectors to accompany him to the presbytery, but no-one did so.

Help To Spread The Truth

A "LITTLE paper that is bigger than all the others put together." That is how Peace News was described in a letter we received last week.

The big things still fascinate many people—the big bombers, the big tanks, the "big" national figures, the big-circulation newspapers. They have their power, it is true; but that power is not eternal. Throughout recorded history, at times when the big things seemed to hold all power, we find that the eternal truths were often held by a small minority. Not all minorities are guardians of truths of lasting value. But often enough they have held on to an aspect of truth that mattered.

The truths to which Peace News gives expression in the midst of this biggest of all wars will one day be accepted more widely. In the meantime we are not content that it should be read by so few. We want a bigger paper: until the control of newsprint is relaxed, that must wait—except for occasional six-page issues like this one. But we can supply more readers, up to a total of about 20,000. Last week's print was 18,100 copies. Are you doing all you can to help us to get the other 1,900?

"The truth shall make you free." But we must not hide its light under a bushel.

THE CASE FOR A NEGOTIATED PEACE

Do you know the case for a negotiated peace? Birmingham PPU Council invite you to send an original contribution, of not more than 3,000 words, suitable for publication as a leaflet or pamphlet. No prizes are offered—the best entry will be published and used for distribution in connexion with the Negotiated Peace Campaign. Send your contribution not later than a month after publication of this notice, to Connie Jones, 36 Holloway Head, Birmingham, 1.

"Reasonable Excuse" Plea Is Allowed

A CO has been held by a police court to have "reasonable excuse" for not complying with his tribunal condition and has been found "not guilty." This is the first case of its kind reported to the Central Board for COs since the National Service Act, 1941, which created the defence of "reasonable excuse," became law nearly three years ago.

The CO is Albert F. Hoffer, a Quaker, of Kingston-on-Thames, who appeared before Kingston Borough Police Court on Feb. 1, charged with failing to comply with a condition of land work or ambulance work under civilian control. He pleaded reasonable excuse for his failure.

Albert Hoffer had been sentenced to 93 days' imprisonment by court-martial when in the army but the Appellate Tribunal had recognized his objection, recommended his discharge from the army and registered him conditionally

Humphrey S. Moore

HUMPHREY MOORE, the original founder of Peace News in 1936, its editor from the foundation till June, 1940, and since that time assistant-editor, has now left Peace News to take up a position as sub-editor on a national daily. He gave nearly eight years of devoted service to Peace News and the PPU; and the essential quality of that devotion was never more plainly manifested than in the graciousness with which he accepted his supersession as editor by myself in 1940.

Nothing, I imagine, could well have been harder than for a young editor to see the journal which by heroic efforts he had brought into being given into the control of another man. It is true enough that, without the financial help of the PPU and the steady support of the groups, Peace News could not have won through. In this sense it was the creation of the PPU as well as of Humphrey Moore. But that could not diminish the feeling of identification, of consubstantiality with Peace News which he must have felt. Yet, so far from making me feel that he felt my advent as an intrusion, he welcomed me "without retention or restraint," and placed his talents unreservedly at the service of the new editor.

It was probably inevitable that under the new régime those talents should have had less than full scope and that, as the war dragged on and the prospects of the freedom of a bigger Peace News became more remote, Humphrey Moore should have felt a sense of frustration in his profession.

With me blocking the way, at all events for the duration and perhaps a year or two beyond, Peace News had become something of a blind alley. From it Humphrey Moore is now liberated, into the less restricted vistas of Fleet St. He remains with us as a member of the board of Directors of Peace News and, I hope, as a constant contributor to its pages. With our grateful thanks for his great services in the past go our fervent wishes for his success in the future.

J.M.M.

as a CO. Later, his case was referred back to the local tribunal as the Ministry of Labour believed that he had reasonable excuse for not complying. Both the Local and Appellate Tribunals, however, held that he had no reasonable excuse and refused to vary his conditions.

At the police court Albert Hoffer called two doctors from the British Post-Graduate Medical School as witnesses. Dr. Sheila Sherlock said (according to the Surrey Comet, Feb. 2) that she was working for the Medical Research Council on problems concerned with jaundice. Hoffer was her personal assistant, and without his work it would be very difficult to carry on.

Wearing the Forces discharge badge of this war, Dr. L. H. Ashken (psychologist) said he had examined Hoffer and satisfied himself that his conscientious objection was honest. "I don't like COs," said Dr. Ashken, "but he is honest. His ambition is to become a medical missionary, and his main idea is to be of use to God and the sick. The work he is doing now is of assistance to every soldier suffering from malaria and jaundice."

By a majority the Bench decided that Albert Hoffer had reasonable excuse for not complying with his condition and dismissed the summons.

Woman's Part in Building Peace

by MARY GAMBLE

I WAS not surprised to read in "Observer's" Commentary for Jan. 21 that "among those who call for the ruthless treatment of Germany women vastly predominate over men." I was not surprised, but in spite of that it gave me a shock.

I was not surprised because I have found when talking to people in railway carriages, or in shops, or in ordinary conversations with my friends, that the most violent expressions of hatred and revenge invariably come from women. I believe that was true during the last war. I remember Studdert Kennedy telling a story from his own experience of a particularly charming-looking woman who, alone, at a meeting, violently opposed his efforts for relief for the starving children of Europe.

No, I was not surprised at the Daily Mail's discovery, but I was shocked: shocked at being reminded again of the streak of cruelty and hardness apparently inherent in woman's nature. I like to believe that the women who have suffered most by the war are not to be found among the ruthless ones. I have not much evidence for this, only a stubborn faith. That pathetic notice which frequently appears in The Times: "... killed in action. The husband of ... Please no letters." Surely her

heart was too full of anguish to have much room for revenge. I do know intimately the mother of a young farmer who was terribly injured in an air raid. The tragedy has only served to deepen her desire that war shall end.

I comfort myself with these thoughts, but the Daily Mail is telling of facts—cold, hard statistics. According to its showing women are more ruthless than men.

Dorothy Plowman's contention is that the ruthlessness and vindictiveness of woman is the consequence of biological frustration. In modern war she is frustrated, in her instinctive being, as never before. Separated from her man, cheated of motherhood, she has now achieved the supreme travesty of woman—woman in military uniform.

I believe there is much truth in this; I am not qualified to express an opinion on Dorothy Plowman's belief that there is hope in France, because there women's influence has been more real. But I cannot help reflecting that France, all through the period of which she spoke, has firmly rejected the political emancipation of women. This suggests that the

political emancipation of women is beside the mark.

So often we women-pacifists have been prone to think: "Men are in power in the world today, and they have brought about this appalling welter of blood and tyranny and fear. If only the women would take a hand the world would be a vastly better place." The evidence of the Daily Mail rather makes nonsense of that idea; it makes it difficult to go on believing that the political influence of women will be decisive in constructing a peaceful and stable society. The contrary appears more probable.

The problem seems to lie far deeper than we realize, and to be one that cannot be solved at the political level. We shall have to think again. We must give up the idea that woman by nature is an influence for peace; and also the idea that by taking her full share in politics she will become an influence for peace. But we need not surrender to the idea that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male."

I obstinately believe that woman could be a great influence for peace. But I think that she will only be that influence as she becomes redeemed by love. I think too that, in some sense, love is more natural to woman than to man: but woman's love has not the impersonal quality of man's. Not that it is more selfish. It is focussed on persons rather than causes and ideas. Causes and ideas must be embodied in persons for woman's love of the ideal to be effective. There is deep truth in Milton's line: "He for God only: she for God in him." I therefore am inclined to believe that it is because man has lost his faith, that woman has lost hers. By losing his faith, by which I mean a sense of purpose in life, which ought to mould and lead society, man has become less than man; and woman in consequence less than woman.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.

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